DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 229 138 PS 013 493

AUTHOR Nannis, Ellen D.
TITLE Children's Understanding of Feelings: A Developmental Study.
PUB DATE Apr 83
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development (Detroit, MI, April 21-24, 1983).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Affective Behavior; *Age Differences; Cognitive Processes; *Comprehension; Elementary Education; *Elementary School Students; Freehand Drawing; Interpersonal Competence; Interviews; Parents; Pictorial Stimuli; Self Concept; *Sex Differences
IDENTIFIERS *Perception of Emotion

ABSTRACT

Two modes of assessment (an interview and a drawing task) were applied to investigate first, third, and fifth graders' understanding of their own feelings and their understanding of the feelings of others, specifically those of their parents. In the interview session, each subject was asked first a set of questions about happy feelings and then the same set of questions about sad feelings. Scores for each question were composited into four variables: knowledge of feelings in the self, knowledge of feelings in the parents, understanding of the process of feelings in the self, and understanding of the process of feelings in the parents. During the drawing session, children were given two pictures. One picture showed a figure of the subject's same gender, while the other depicted a male and female figure together. Subjects were then asked to pretend the pictures were either themselves or their parents and to color with a marker where they or their parents experienced happy or sad feelings. Interviews and drawings subsequently were coded by two different raters, each naive to the research purposes. Results indicated age and sex differences in children's knowledge of feelings in the self and understanding of the processes of feelings in the self and in their parents. (MP)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED229138

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF FEELINGS: A DEVELOPMENTAL STUDY

Ellen D. Nannis.

University of California, Berkeley

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Ellen D. Nannis

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

PS013493

Running head: Understanding Feelings

Presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Detroit Mich., April 21, 1983.

CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF FEELINGS: A DEVELOPMENTAL STUDY[1]

To date, most of the work in social cognition deals with interpersonal knowledge and social awareness (e.g., empathy, person perception, social rules and moral development). However, there is growing interest in how children think about their own psychological experiences. Prior research has included studies about self concept (Guardo & Bohan, 1972; Harter, in press), self awareness (Selman, 1980), and reflection on one's own thought (Miller, Kessel & Flavell, 1970; Shulz & Cloghest, 1981). These studies suggest that there are developmental trends in the way children think about their own psychological processes.

One area within the study of intrapersonal knowledge that has received little attention is knowledge about one's own feelings. The study of feelings typically has involved investigations of how people infer and label feelings in others (e.g., empathy) or has examined children's awareness of display rules with regard to feelings (Saarni, 1979). Only a few studies have examined children's understanding of their own feelings and the way in which feelings "work."

Harter's (1980,1979) well known research articulated the different ways in which children think about the experience of multiple feelings such as the ability to be happy and sad at the same time, theoretically linking children's explanations with their level of logical thought. She described a typology for multiple feelings based on the valence of the emotions being experienced (positive or negative), the number of objects towards which the feelings are directed, and the time frame for experiencing the feelings

(sequential or simultaneous).

In studies initiated at about the same time as this one, Carroll (Note 1) and Tharinger (Note 2) interviewed children about their understanding of happy and sad feelings. Both found increasing sophistication with age in the level of children's understanding of their own feelings. The criteria invoked in the explanations of feelings ranged from concrete external criteria, to the use of more internal criteria, to explanations based on the use of psychological criteria. Tharinger articulated five dimensions related to children's explanations of their feelings; Carroll correlated aspects of children's emotional knowledge with their knowledge about their physical worlds.

One limitation of both studies is that each focused only on children's ideas about their own feelings without attempting to discover whether developmental differences generalized beyond the child's own feelings. However, work by Cowan (1978) and Damon and Hart (1982) suggested that knowledge about the self and about others may develop differently or at different rates. Therefore, it would be useful to compare children's understanding of their own feelings to their understanding of feelings in others. Such a comparison must control for the child's familiarity with the "other." As Davidson, Turiel, and Black (Note 3) suggested, children's responses to questions may be related to their familiarity with the object of inquiry. To examine whether the self/other distinction is useful, a highly salient "other" such as a parent should be compared with the development of self-understanding.

A second limitation of Tharinger's and Carroll's studies is that both relied solely on verbal responses from their subjects. It may be that reported differences reflected the child's facility with language rather than the child's conceptual abilities. Therefore, although the developmental dif-

ferences were replicated in an interview format, it would be important to determine if the differences can be replicated using a different method.

The purpose of the present study was: (1) to attempt replication of the developmental differences found in the interview studies of Carroll and Tharinger; (2) to document these differences in a non-verbal mode of assessment (drawings); and (3) to compare the understanding of one's own feelings to the understanding of feelings in others, specifically, one's parents.

METHOD

Participants

Fifty-two children in one of three grades participated in this study: 6 boys and 13 girls were in the first grade (mean age 85 months); 9 boys and 9 girls were in the third grade (mean age 110 months); and 7 boys and 8 girls were in the fifth grade (mean age 135 months). The children were primarily of upper-middle class socioeconomic background. They were recruited from a suburban elementary school on the West Coast.

Measures

Children's understanding of feelings was measured in two ways: (1) interview and (2) drawings.

Interview. Interviews were conducted by an undergraduate student and the author. The student interviewed one-third of the subjects in each of the three grades; the author interviewed the remaining two-thirds. Both interviewers were women trained in working with children.

A modified clinical format was adopted for the interviews. Children were asked questions from a structured interview. Their answers were followed up by the interviewer to clarify the meaning of the response and to enable subsequent location of the response in one of the coding levels. The interview consisted of two parts: the first dealt with feelings experienced by the child; the second dealt with feelings experienced by the parents.

Questions were categorized along one of three dimensions: (1) Process of feelings; (2) Interpersonal awareness of feelings; and (3) Multiple feelings. Each dimension reflected the content of the questions. Coding levels within each dimension were designed to allow for comparability among dimensions. In the present report, only the first two dimensions will be discussed.

Process of feelings. The Process of feelings dimension dealt with questions about general knowledge of feelings (e.g., How do you know you are happy?) and with how feelings "work" (e.g., How do you get to be happy?). Responses to questions along this dimension were scored at one of three levels.

[Level 0: No codeable response.]

Level 1a: A feeling is a physical phenomenon. All explanations are based on physical manifestations.

Level 1b: A feeling is an external event or caused by an external event. Also at this level is a response of "yes" or "no" with no further elaboration.

Level 2a: Feelings are internal; they are felt in a specific part of the body, though not where they are expressed.

Level 2b: Feelings are an activity or caused by an activity.

Level 3: Feelings encompass all of oneself; they are an internal, subjective, psychological process. Responses using psychological attributes or terms are scored at this level.

Interpersonal awareness of feelings. The Interpersonal awareness of feelings dimension concerned questions in which the child had to reflect on how others would make judgments about his/her own feelings or how the child would make inferences about another's feelings (e.g., How would I know you are happy? or Can your Mom and Dad hide their feelings?). Responses to

questions along this dimension were coded at one of three levels.

[Level 0: No codeable response.]

Level 1a: Feelings always are communicated, they cannot be hidden. They are inferred on the basis of perceptual cues. One must see another or be in geographic proximity to know what another feels. Also at this level is knowing what another feels because of magic or mindreading.

Level 1b: "Yes" or "no" with no further elaboration.

Level 2: Feelings are experienced internally and are not visable, therefore, one could never know what another is feeling because one cannot see inside a person. Also at this level, feelings can be felt one place and expressed another; thus, they can be hidden if they are not shown. This does not imply that the child willfully can control his/her feelings.

Level 3a: There are inter- and intrapersonal differences in experiencing feelings. One may not know what another is feeling because people can feel differently about something. There is also a sense of willful control of one's feelings--they can be hidden. There may also be some recognition of universal rules about the display of feelings; for example, a smile usually means one is happy. Also at this level is the use of psychological attributes for identifying feelings in others (e.g., grumpy or nice).

Level 3b: Although one does not know what another is feeling, one may know as a function empathy, sympathy, or closeness and familiarity with the person; that is, although not knowing another's feelings, per se, these give one license or reason to infer another's feelings.

Drawings. During the interview children were given two drawings of people, one picture matched the subject's gender and the other was a male and female figure together. Children were asked to pretend the pictures were either themselves or their parents and to color with a marker where they or their parents experienced happy feelings and sad feelings (happy and sad feelings were marked on separate pictures). Responses to the pictures were coded at one of the following levels.

[Level 0: No codeable response]

Level 1: Feelings are felt where they are expressed (e.g., in the mouth because that is where you smile; in the eyes because that is where you cry).

Level 2: Feelings are in a repository such as the brain, heart, or stomach; they may also be in a larger encapsilated area such as the chest.

Level 3: Feelings are a generalized internal phenomenon, therefore they are felt all over the body, not tied to a particular part of the body.

Interviews and drawings subsequently were coded by two different raters, each naive to the research hypotheses. One-third of the interviews and one-third of the drawings were scored by a third rater for the purpose of establishing reliability. Interrater reliability for each interview question was established. Coding was accepted as reliable if the two raters were in absolute agreement at least 65% of the time and within one point of agreement 75% of the time. Table 1 presents the reliabilities for each question.

Table 1 about here

Interrater reliability for coding the drawings was established if 85%

of the responses were in absolute agreement. Reliabilities for each picture also are included in Table 1.

Procedures

Children were interviewed individually in a small, quiet area away from their classrooms. Interviews were done in two sessions, the first session lasting about 20-25 minutes and the second lasting approximately 15 minutes. All interviews were tape recorded for subsequent analysis. Children were asked a set of questions about happy feelings and then the same set of questions about sad feelings. The order of presentation was counterbalanced. With respect to feelings in the parents, in cases where parents were divorced, the children were asked about the custodial parent's feelings.

Scores for each question were composited into four variables: (1) knowledge of feelings in the self, (2) knowledge about feelings in the parents, (3) understanding the process of feelings in the self, and (4) understanding the process of feelings in the parents. Figure 1 contains the specific questions used to form each composite. The composite score was derived by

---

Figure 1 about here

---

taking the average of the scores to the questions that formed the composited variable. Examples of questions within the composited variables: knowledge about feelings in the self and in the parents are: "How do you know you are happy?" and "How do you know your parents are happy?" Questions about the process of feelings composites included those questions assessing how children thought feelings "worked." Examples include: "How do you get to be happy?" Can you hide your sad feelings?" and " How do your parents get to be happy?" For each composite, questions referring to happy feelings and those referring to sad feelings were treated separately.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

T-tests were performed comparing answers to questions about happy and sad feelings. No significant differences were found; therefore responses to happy and sad feelings were combined for all further analyses. Because of the exploratory nature of the study and the relatively small number of subjects, $p < .1$ was used to designate the level of statistical significance.

Developmental and Gender Differences in Children's Ideas about Feelings

A between groups ANOVA was performed for grade level and gender. The results of the analyses are presented in Table 2. Significant differences

---

Table 2 about here

---

among the grade levels were found in children's knowledge of feelings in the self ($F=5.4$, $df=2$, $p < .01$), understanding the process of feelings in the self ($F=2.5$, $df=2$, $p < .1$), and understanding the process of feelings in the parents ($F=2.9$, $df=2$, $p < .1$). The general developmental trend showed that third and fifth graders gave more complex responses than the first graders. The more complex explanations involved thinking about feelings based on internal rather than external phenomena (e.g., "I know I'm happy because I feel good inside" as opposed to: "I know I'm happy because I have a smile"). These findings are consistent with the person perception literature which indicates that children younger than eight years old use fewer psychological terms and more concrete terms or attributes in their descriptions of others (Livesly and Bromley, 1973).

No statistically significant difference was found between third and fifth grade students (8 and 10 year olds). The lack of difference was not attributed to a ceiling effect. On a possible 7-point scale, the mean of

the oldest group was barely 5. The plateauing at ages 8 through 10 of response levels in children's understanding suggests that it is necessary to test older children.

A gender difference in children's understanding of feelings was not predicted based on earlier research (Feshbach & Roe, 1968; Hughes, Tingle, & Sawin, 1981; Selman, 1980). However, this study found that boys responded at a significantly higher level than girls for each of the four composited variables: knowledge about feelings in the self ($F=3.8$, $df=1$, $p < .1$), knowledge of feelings in the parents ($F=15.8$, $df=1$, $p < .01$), understanding the process of feelings in the self ($F=4.6$, $df=1$, $p < .05$), and understanding the process of feelings in the parents ($F=6.4$, $df=1$, $p < .01$). It appears that boys use more internal cues in identifying feelings than do girls. For example, whereas a third grade girl may reply that she knows she is happy because she is playing, a third grade boy may state that playing makes him feel good inside and that good feeling inside is how he knows he is happy.

Whether boys are more knowledgeable about feelings, or merely using different cues than girls to determine feelings in themselves and others cannot be determined based upon the study's data. One possibility is that these differences reflect positively on boys' development. Another is that the boys in this sample already have begun to intellectualize feelings. They may be better intellectualizers or more knowledgeable about feelings at a particular age, though not necessarily more aware or sensitive to feelings, or able to express or experience them.

One final explanation may be drawn from the field dependence literature. Boys are more field independent than girls and thus tend to ignore the external surrounding cues when making perceptual judgments (Witkin, Goodenough, & Karp, 1967). Boys' higher scores in the present study may be indicative of

their using more internal criteria (field independence) rather than external, environmental cues (field dependence) in forming their ideas about how they know about feelings. That is, boys may refer to their internal "good feelings" rather than the more concrete clues such as whether they are smiling or whether they are engaged in a particular activity. Therefore, the current findings that boys and girls are using different cues in making judgments about feelings is consistent with the field dependence literature.

Comparison of Self Knowledge and Knowledge about the Parent

Responses to questions about the self were compared to responses to questions about the parents' feelings. Results of the post hoc t-tests are shown in Table 3. Girls and fifth graders scored significantly higher on

---

Table 3 about here

---

in their responses to questions about feelings experienced in themselves as compared to those experienced by their parents (girls, $t=3.0$, $p < .01$; fifth graders, $t=1.9$, $p < .1$). Girls and fifth graders also gave significantly higher level responses to questions about understanding the process of feelings in themselves as compared to their understanding of the process of feelings in their parents (girls, $t= 2.5$, $p < .05$; fifth graders, $t=1.8$, $p < .1$). These findings suggest, for example, that if girls and fifth graders state that they know they feel happy because they feel good inside, they are more likely to use more concrete criteria to base their judgments about their parents' feelings: "I know my Mom and Dad are happy because they are laughing." Boys, however, are more likely to use similar criteria in explaining how they know they are happy and how they know their parents are happy. First graders also score significantly higher for those questions about the process of feelings in themselves as compared to understanding the

process of feelings in their parents (t=2.0, p <.1).

These findings, in conjunction with the gender differences described in the previous section suggest that when girls use more internal or psychological criteria in their judgments about feelings, they are more apt to use them in reference to their own feelings rather than feelings in their parents. It is not clear whether the use of different criteria for making judgments about the self and the parent represents a greater differentiation by girls and fifth graders between themselves and their parents or merely a lack in their development of understanding or awareness of feelings in the parents. Girls and the older children may spend more time thinking about themselves or about feelings in themselves and therefore may be less concerned with feelings in their parents. Although such behavior may hamper the development of interpersonal awareness, it may make the child less vulnerable to the fluctuations of parents' moods.

These findings may be illustrative of how an awareness of feelings develops: first one develops a sense of one's own feelings, and then a sense of feelings of others. This is consistent with the fact that self identity preceeds other identity (Cowan, 1978). As one's ideas of feelings develop further, the gap between self and other lessens.

Comparison of Responses to Drawings and Interviews

Scores for childrens' responses to the task of locating their feelings pictorially were compared to the interview data concerning knowledge about feelings in the self. Scores for the pictures dealing with locating parents' feelings were compared to the interview data concerning knowledge about feelings in the parents. T-tests between the interview variables and the pictures revealed no significant differences for either the total sample or for the sample divided by gender or grade level. It appears that children

communicate about feelings in a similar way regardless of whether they respond verbally (in the interview context) or nonverbally (through pictures).

SUMMARY

The findings in this study have both theoretical and practical implications for our current knowledge about children's understanding of feelings and for future research. First, the results support previous findings suggesting that children develop an increasingly sophisticated understanding of feelings. The validity of these trends has been strengthened by use of a task which yielded no significant differences in the way children understand happy and sad feelings when assessed through verbal and nonverbal means.

Second, the study adds empirical support to the notion that at least for girls, self knowledge and knowledge about others may not develop concurrently. Such a decalage in the development of social knowledge suggests that we develop and understand knowledge about ourselves first and this knowledge is then extended to others.

Third, these findings suggest that there are gender differences in addition to age differences. Therefore, especially in a clinical context, it is important to know that boys and girls are reacting to their emotional worlds based on different information.

Finally, the study articulates the bases of children's judgments about feelings. Younger children usually base their judgments about their own and others feelings on the physical manifestation of the feeling (e.g., I know I'm happy because I have a smile; I know I'm sad because I am crying); older children use activities and interactions with others as the bases of their judgments (e.g., I'm happy when I'm playing with my friends); the oldest children tend to base their judgments on more psychological criteria (e.g.,

I know I'm sad because I'm grouchy and in a bad mood).

In dealing with children socially, or teaching them empathy skills, the results of this study suggest more precisely the level that an intervention should take and a language with which to talk with children about their feelings. For example, if a nursery school teacher trying to teach young children to be more considerate of others' feelings refers to a psychological state and says something like "See how quiet Jane is," this will have little relevance to the child who believes that feelings are synonomous with the facial expression. Likewise, if children believe that feelings are manifestations of actions, we should not be surprised if children think their parents do not love them when their parents are scolding them.

The findings suggest directions for future research. Gender differences need to be replicated and a wider range of children (e.g., older children, broader SES background) must be assessed in comparing children's understanding of their own feelings to those of others. We also should ask children about feelings in many different people of varying familiarity to the child. It may be that asking about a parent (an "other" well known to the child), we get a different level of response than asking about an unfamiliar "other."

Further, a cognitive-developmental approach to children's ideas about their emotional worlds may yield valuable information concerning the relation between cognition and affect. If we can describe and explain how cognitive abilities are associated with one's understanding and reaction to emotional situations, we may begin to understand the link between cognitive abilities and the experience of emotions.

Reference Notes

1. Carroll, J. Cognitive Development and the Understanding of Feelings. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Psychology, University of California-Davis, 1981.

2. Tharinger, D. The Development of the Child's Psychological Understanding of Feelings. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Education, University of California-Berkeley, 1981.

3. Davidson, P., Turiel, E., Black A. The Effect of Stimulus Familiarity on the Use of Criteria and Justifications in Children's Social Reasoning. Unpublished manuscript, 1981.

References

Cowan, P. Piaget with feeling. NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1978.

Damon, W. & Hart, D. The development of self-understanding from infancy through adolescence. Child Development, 1982, 53, 841-864.

Feshbach, N. & Roe, K. Empathy in six and four year olds. Child Development, 1968, 39, 133-145.

Flapan, D. Children's understanding of social interaction. NY: Teachers College Press, 1968.

Guardo, C. & Bogan, J. Development of a sense of self-identity in children. Child Development, 1971, 42, 1909-1921.

Harter, S. Developmental perspectives on the self-system. In M.Hetherington (Ed.), Carmichael's manual of child psychology: Volume on social and personality development. NY: Wiley & Sons, in press.

Harter, S. A cognitive-developmental approach to children's understanding of affect and trait labels. In Serafica (Ed.), Social cognition in context. NY: Guilford Press, 1980.

Harter, S. Children's understanding of multiple emotions: A cognitive-developmental approach. Presented at the 9th annual symposium of the Jean Piaget Society, May 31 - June 2, 1979.

Harter, S. A cognitive-developmental approach to children's expression of conflicting feelings and a technique to facilitate such expression in play therapy. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1977, 45, 417-432.

Hughes, R., Tingle, B., & Sawin, D. Development of empathic understanding in children. Child Development, 1981, 52, 122-128.

Livesley, W. & Bromley, D. Person perception in childhood and adolescence. London: Wiley & Sons, 1973.

Miller, P., Kessel, P., & Flavell, J. Thinking about people thinking about people thinking about ...: A study of social-cognitive development. Child Development, 1970, 41, 613-623.

Piaget, J. Intelligence and affectivity: Their relationship during child development. Palo Alto, Ca: Annual Reviews, 1981.

Saarni, C. Children's understanding of display rules in expressive behavior. Developmental Psychology, 1979, 15, 424-429.

Selman, R. The growth of interpersonal understanding. NY: Academic Press, 1980.

Shultz, T. & Cloghest, K. Development of recursive awareness of intension. Developmental Psychology, 1981, 17, 465-571.

Witkin, H., Goodenough, D., & Karp, S. Stability of cognitive style from childhood to young adulthood. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1967, 7, 291-300

Footnotes

1. I would like to gratefully acknowledge Peter Lifton and Philip Cowan for their interest and unceasing support throughout the research project and for their help with the preparation of the manuscript. I would also like to thank the teachers, children and principal who participated in the study for their time and interest. In addition, I would like to thank Diedre Demorest who assisted in the data collection and Maria Eliopolis and Janet Bein who spent many hours coding interviews and pictures.

Table 1

Reliabilities

Questions:	% Perfect Agreement	% Within One Point
How do you know you're happy/sad?	68%	85%
How do you get to be happy/sad?	71%	80%
How would I know you're happy/sad?	76%	88%
Could you be happy/sad and I wouldn't be able to tell that you were?	82%	91%
How would your parents know that you were happy/sad? Could you be happy/sad and they wouldn't know?	71%	87%
Could you feel happy/sad feelings and not let the happy/sad feelings show?	82%	94%
Can you feel happy and sad about the same-thing?	82%	94%
Can you look happy and feel sad?	83%	94%
Can you show happy and sad feelings at the sametime?	71%	100%
Can you feel happy and sad at the sametime?	71%	94%
How do you know your parents are happy/sad?	69%	94%
How do they get to be happy/sad?	85%	88%
Can one be happy/sad and the other not know?	83%	97%
Can your parents be happy/sad and you wouldn't know?	84%	97%
Can either of your parents hide feelings from other people?	71%	88%

Table 1 continued

Pictures:	%Perfect Agreement
Self: Happy	94%
Sad	88%
Both feelings together	94%
Mother: Happy	94%
Sad	94%
Father: Happy	94%
Sad	94%

TABLE 2

Comparison of Mean Scores for Composited Variables

	Gender				Grades				
	Boys	Girls	df	F	1	3	5	df	F
	N=22	N=30			N=19	N=18	N=15		
Knowledge of feelings in the self	4.4	4.0	1	3.8*	3.9	4.2	4.6	2	5.4***
Knowledge of feelings in the parent	4.4	3.5	1	15.8***	3.7	3.9	4.1	2	.92
Understanding the process of feelings in the self	4.9	4.3	1	4.6**	4.2	4.6	4.9	2	2.5*
Understanding the process of feelings in the parent	4.4	3.8	1	6.4***	3.6	4.3	4.3	2	2.9*

*p < .1

**p < .05

***p < .01

TABLE 3

Comparison of Mean Scores for Self and Other

	Knowledge of feelings in the self	Knowledge of feelings in the parent	t	Understanding the process of feelings in the self	Understanding the process of feelings in the parent	t
Boys N=22	4.4	4.5	.13	4.9	4.6	1.4
Girls N=30	4.0	3.5	3.0***	4.3	3.8	2.5**
Grade 1 N=19	3.9	3.7	.86	4.2	3.6	2.0*
Grade 3 N=18	4.2	3.9	1.4	4.6	4.3	1.0
Grade 5 N=15	4.6	4.2	1.9*	4.9	4.3	1.8*

*p $<$ .1

**p $<$ .05

***p $<$ .01

Figure 1:

Questions used to Form Composited Variables

Composite	Questions
Knowledge about Feelings in the Self	How do you know you're happy/sad? How would I know you're happy/sad? How would your parents know you're happy/sad? Could you be happy/sad and your parents wouldn't know it?
Knowledge of Feelings in the Parents	How do you know your Mom/Dad are happy/sad? Can one parent be happy/sad and the other wouldn't know it? Can your parents be happy/sad and you wouldn't know it?
Understanding the Process of Feelings in the Self	Can you hide happy/sad feelings? How do you get to be happy/sad? Can you feel happy/sad feelings and not let the feelings show?
Understanding the Process of Feelings in the Parent	How do your Mom/Dad get to be happy/sad? Can your Mom/Dad hide their feelings from other people? Can your Mom/Dad hide their feelings from you?